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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anáná-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anáná-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Mazabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manaŋgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poŋanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *paŋ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialít ya ŋáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever.

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súxăy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súxăy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súxăy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning:

Baldś (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Uddn (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Adds (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Baťó (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening

104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.

192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Ásiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbán*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have
771 known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help
721 your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Ilоko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means
193 "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lulluplan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Wazí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Íkit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípāg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Wazí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw*
684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
628 when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second
703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at
578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mańén: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibná:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.